Liturgical Vestments for Cathedrals During the French Concordat Period (1801-1905) A Political Strategy

Maria Anne Privat Savigny

Gadagne museums in Lyon, macmaps@me.com

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The Concordat treaty was signed in France in 1801 by Napoléon Bonaparte First Consul and gave to the Church of France a new statute. A Cult Administration was founded and became not only a powerful organization to control and finance religions in France, in particular, Catholicism but also an important political medium used by the various political régimes which followed one another in France during the 19th century (The First Empire (1804-1815), the Restoration (Louis XVIII and Charles X), 1815-1830, the Monarchy of July (Louis-Philippe) 1830-1848, the Second Empire (Napoléon III) 1852-1870 and the IIIrd Republic which starts in 1870).

It should be specified that the Cult Administration not only dealt with the salaries of the church employees, the main part of their budget, but also vital restoration of the cathedrals whose budget was substantial. The pontifical vestments for the cathedrals are worn a dozen times a year by bishops and archbishops when they officiated in their cathedral in accordance with the liturgical calendar. The Cult Administration wrote a certain number of rules in order to determinate which types of vestments could be financed by the State and the administrative procedures, which should be followed. Without giving legislative details, the circular of December 20, 1841 was applied during the 19th century and specifies the rules to be followed in order to benefit from financial state assistance in purchasing liturgical vestments for cathedrals. The request must be formulated by the Fabrique, which was the organization which managed the maintenance of the cathedral and to be further validated by the bishop and by the prefect. Thus, the request must be validated by the local religious authorities and by the State. A dossier must be submitted, which would include the requirement of specific documents to be examined by the Ministry of Religious Affairs. The subsidies granted for the financing of liturgical vestments for cathedrals are relatively modest when compared with those provided for the financing of architectural projects: however, in a broader sense, the bishop or archbishop can now be seen to wield an easily managed political power this was not the case where architectural projects are concerned. Liturgical vestments were seen at the time of the celebration of the mass when they were worn by the bishop: they can easily show to all faithful the governmental assistance for the Church. Liturgical vestments thus became an interesting mean in politics: not too expensive, they are immediately visible by all.

This lecture aims at wondering about the existence of connections between the granting of subsidy to a cathedral and the political stakes which are implied there : how kings and emperors used the subsidies of the Cult Administration for the purchase of liturgical vestments for political reasons. I propose to examine four aspects of them:

1) Initially to emphasize the connection between the appointment of a bishop who is close to the government and the granting of subsidies to purchase liturgical vestments. There are numerous examples so we will examine some of them.

2) Secondly, we will analyze the policy undertaken by the Monarchy of July then by the Second Empire vis à vis the new conquests (Algeria for instance) and the territories annexed such as Savoy and Nice.
3) Thirdly, we will see whether the Cult Administration followed a particular policy to help and privilege the poor cathedrals.

4) Finally, we will study the personal choices of the sovereigns through the action of Louis-Philippe to regain the trust of the Church of France after some years of anticlericalism and that of Napoléon III. The personal choices of these sovereigns are financed by other funds called the civil list. It is thus a personal policy, independent from the Ministry of Religious Affairs.

Connection between the appointment of a bishop who is close to the government and the granting of subsidies to purchase liturgical vestments.

It is clear that the budget assigned for the purchase of liturgical vestments depends on the current religious and political leanings of the different governments: budgets allocated to purchase liturgical vestments increased significantly under the Restoration and especially during the reign of Charles X who also conducted an active policy of personal donations to the cathedrals. He ensured that his 1825 coronation was at its most luxurious, especially with regard to textiles\(^1\). The first years of the Monarchy of July until around 1845 were anticlerical and the budget dedicated to the purchase of liturgical vestments fell heavily. In the early 1840s, Louis-Philippe attempted to have good relationships with the Church of France thus the budget for liturgical vestments increased again but with some delay. Under the Second Empire, the development of the budget for liturgical vestments was linked to the development of the religious policy of Napoléon III. The amount dedicated to the purchase of liturgical vestments was high but fluctuating until 1858 when the relationships with Rome were good. Then with the Roman question and the Italian projects undertaken by Napoléon III, the relationships between the Pope and the Emperor became strained. This had an immediate impact on the budget of the Cult Administration. It is only from 1861 that this budget found again an appropriate level but lower than during the early years of the Second Empire. It remained stable until 1867 and then gradually decreased with the Second Empire government. During the IIIrd Republic and the Ordre Moral thanks to Mac-Mahon in 1874, this budget increased and stabilized and then during the 1880s fell abruptly with the advent of the Republican government.

It is easy to notice that public subsidies to purchase liturgical vestments are primarily given to bishops who have excellent relationships with the government or with the Cult Administration. This hypothesis is specifically validated during the Imperial period. The prefect or the administration often justified the granting of subsidies when the *Domine Salvum* is sung during the mass in honor of the imperial family. If it is not, the chance to benefit from the financial help of the state was reduced. The political rallying, the absence of demonstrations hostile to the government, moderation in the expression of personal or political opinions outweighed all kinds of religious views, gallican or ultramontan. The Second Empire had good relationships with the French episcopate. French bishops were seen to be representative at that time of a temporal and religious alliance and were awarded by the satisfaction of the requests they formulated to receive financial help. During the Second Empire, the Roman rite encouraged by the government increased from the 1850s. Some examples: in 1856, Mgr Salinis, a famous ultramontane bishop was appointed in Auch in the south west of France, with the support of Napoleon III. He received a grant of 3500 francs to purchase liturgical vestments for his own use\(^2\). However, Mgr Gerbet, who was also an ultramontane bishop, appointed by Fortoul, the Minister of Religious Affairs in Perpignan in 1854 was denied two allocations for the making of


\(^2\) Archives nationale de France, F\(^19\) 3823, Liasse Auch.
precious liturgical vestments by the Cult Administration. Mgr Darboy is gallican but he supports the policy undertaken by Napoléon III, which is a very convincing argument. From 1859, he received an important grant to buy precious liturgical vestments, made with gold, provided by Biais Aîne a famous Parisian chasuble maker. These examples demonstrate that political rallying was necessary to obtain a grant from the Cult Administration. A final example, the cathedral of Luçon, Mgr Baillès the bishop of Luçon was known to be hostile to imperial policy and was denied two requests of financial help in 1847 and in 1851. However, the Fabrique of Luçon was one of the poorest and most assisted Fabriques because the diocese was a refractory one, a hostile territory that the government tried to rally in particular during the episcopate of Mgr Soyer (1817-1845). Thanks to the influence of the Duchess of Berry, he was successful and obtained the financing of a liturgical ensemble made with gold threads, which costed 7837 francs. The episcopate of Mgr Colet (1861-1874) was looked on benevolently by Napoléon III. The Fabrique of the cathedral was awarded a grant of 11055 francs for a gold pontifical. The moderate position he had mainly on the Roman question was particularly appreciated. Moderate attitudes were highly valued, as much as during the Second Empire as during the Ordre Moral. Mgr de Bonnechose was appointed archbishop of Rouen by Napoleon III. He then received funding to purchase a pontifical made with gold threads in 1859 which cost 5030 francs. His moderate attitude during the IIIrd Républic enabled him to be awarded another financial subsidy in 1875 of 10009 francs in order to buy another pontifical.

It is also easy to examine the correlation between Episcopal appointments and acceptances, and funding granted by the Government. When Mgr Chaudu de Trelinac, the brother of Louis-Philippe’s doctor was appointed bishop of Montauban in 1833, he received several grants to purchase liturgical vestments for his own service between 1833 and 1839. Mgr Bouvier was appointed bishop of Le Mans on the recommendation of the count of Montalivet. He benefited from four liturgical vestments financed by the Ministry of Religious Affairs between 1835 and 1839. There are many other examples including the royal appointments in the 1840s of Mgr Olivier to the throne of Evreux in 1841, Mgr Fayet in Orléans in 1842, Mgr Alcoury in Pamiers in 1846. All these appointments were followed by important grants to purchase liturgical vestments.

The Government of the Second Empire led a similar policy: appointments decided by Fortoul, Minister of Religious Affairs are followed by grants for liturgical vestments. For instance Mgr Salinis in Auch in 1856, Mgr Wicart in Laval in 1855 or Mgr Boudinet in Amiens in 1856. Rouland, the successor of Fortoul, continued this policy but he encouraged and supported bishops of gallican tendency. This principle is however not to be generalized. The rallying to the imperial regime and its policy is a fundamental principle for acceptance of requests for subsides. Baroche the third important Minister for Religious Affairs of the Second Empire remains in the same political line. Similar observations could be made for the IIIrd Republic: all the cathedrals which had financial assistance from the Cult Administration, had in place a bishop appointed by the regime: for example: Mgr Langénieux was appointed bishop of Tarbes in 1873 and from 1874 he benefited from an allowance of more than 9600 francs to buy a liturgical pontifical made with goldmetal thread by the famous chasuble maker Biais Aîné and Rondelet.

4 Archives nationales de France, F 19 3830, Liasse Nancy.
5 Archives nationales de France, F 19 3828, Liasse Luçon.
6 Ibid.
7 Ibid.
8 Archives nationales de France, F 19 3933, Liasse Rouen.
9 Archives nationales de France, F 19 3830, Liasse Montauban.
10 BOUDON, op. cit., p. 325.
11 5145 francs in Orléans for a black pontifical vestment and 4100 francs in Pamiers for a white pontifical vestment.
12 Archives nationales de France, F 19 3835, Liasse Tarbes.
The policy undertaken towards the new conquests and the territories annexed to France.

Liturgical vestments are the elements of seduction and recognition of the newly conquered territories. It is indeed easy to notice that the three cathedrals of Algeria are among the most favoured by the Cult Administration during the IIIrd République. In Oran, Abbot Ardin was appointed in 1880 and had two liturgical bishop vestments delivered by Hubert Ménage, Parisian chasuble maker in 1880 and in 1882 for 8000 francs, which was a significant amount. In Constantine, the bishops Jean Robert (1872-1878) and Dusserre (1878-1880) were prelates of the IIIrd Republic and they did benefit from significant financial help to their Fabrique for purchasing five liturgical ornaments between 1872 and 1880. In Algiers, the Fabrique of the Cathedral ranked in first place amongst all the beneficiaries of state subsidies to buy liturgical vestments: 30020 francs which was more than 5% of the total grants delivered during the republican years. Since 1838, Algiers was a French diocese dependant on the archdiocese of Aix, in 1866, it became an independent archdiocese.

The governments of the Monarchy of July and of the Second Empire led in Algeria an active policy of Christianization as well as political conquest. However the amount of subsidies did not increase that much before the 1870s, probably because Mgr Dupuch (1838-1845) who was appointed during the Monarchy of July was rich enough to buy his own liturgical vestments for the mass he had to celebrate. The government of the Second Empire allocated a significant amount of money to buy liturgical vestments but it remained below the average granted. The IIIrd republic led so active a policy towards the Algerian cathedrals.

The policy led by the Second Empire towards the dioceses annexed in 1860 is similar. The clergy of Savoie immediately declared allegiance to the Emperor and then was therefore awarded various honors by Napoléon III. It was thus logical that the Fabriques of these cathedrals benefited from grants from the French State to buy liturgical vestments which might be seen by a lot of faithful people: the French government was supporting them and liturgical vestments were visible signs of French governmental assistance. The sacristies of Savoie, where liturgical vestments were stored, were poor and needed to be replenished. Then, the cathedral of Annecy received the benevolence of the imperial government, which agreed to pay more than 41900 francs, which represents more than 5% of the total amount devoted by the State to buy liturgical vestments during this period of time. The Savoyard clergy was close to the French one, however the clergy of Nice remained very Italian through the annexation. Certainly Mgr Sola was favorable for the annexation of Nice to the French Empire, but Rouland ordered him to Gallicize (frenchify) his diocese. To help him, Rouland granted him a subsidy of 8773 francs to buy a white liturgical ensemble, but the Fabrique of the cathedral had to pay 2000 francs to contribute to this purchase. Baroche was also very strict when he gave this Fabrique a payment of 5130 francs for a red liturgical ensemble of 6630 francs in 1867. Nice was not the same political priority.

The Cult Administration, poor cathedrals and pontifical vestments.

The Cult Administration also led an interesting policy in favor of the poorest Fabriques especially during the IIIrd République but this is true for all the period of the Concordat. The cathedral, which benefited from a large part of the subsidies is that of Besançon managed by Mgr Mathieu during the main part of the 19th century. Mgr Mathieu belonged to the gallican tendency but he had good

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13 Archives nationales de France, F19 3831, Liasse Oran.
14 Archives nationales de France, F19 3826, Liasse Constantine. The pontifical vestment was made by Biais Aîné Fils et Rendelet.
16 Archives nationales de France, F19 3830, Liasse Nice.
relationships with the Ministry of Religious Affairs although some disagreements. His cathedral received more than 75000 francs to purchase liturgical vestments because the Fabrique of the cathedral was as poor as those of the cathedral of Toulouse, which also benefited from an important part of the subsidies allowed by the State for that purpose. The cathedral of Toulouse received more than 60000 francs. Some more examples may be quoted: the cathedral of Limoges, which was very poor and received from the State 59745 francs, the cathedral of Ajaccio, which received 56626 francs. Another poor Fabrique is Digne in the Alpes of Provence whose budget was inferior to 6000 francs with a deficit superior of 18830 francs in 1845. The cathedral was granted important subsidies during all the 19th century. Examples are numerous particularly in Pamières or Périgueux. But can we conclude that the Cult Administration led a consistent policy for poor cathedrals or for cathedrals, which had to face financial difficulties. It is difficult to generalize this hypothesis or to prove that an efficient policy was in place, though it is fair to point out that a number of Fabriques, whose revenues were modest, were helped by the Cult Administration. It is also important to note that poorer cathedrals chances of winning state subsidies were often enhanced if they had good management. A geographic analysis of the state subsidies emphasized seven zones favored by the Ministry of Religious Affairs and demonstrates the political priorities.

The civil list.
In addition to the state subsidies, the sovereigns had a private budget granted by the government that they could spend as they wished. This budget was called in French the liste civile, in English, the civil list. So it is interesting to study the different ways and choices made by kings and emperors especially when they concern liturgical vestments. The first gifts of liturgical vestments made by princes began during the Restoration period during the reign of Charles X. Charles X organized his coronation with splendour and pomp on the 29th of may 1825. This coronation celebration was an opportunity to produce prestigious liturgical vestments. After his coronation, Charles X gave some gifts to the cathedral of Reims, where it appended and thanked other bishops Mgr de Gallien de Chabon, bishop of Amiens from 1822 to 183717, who formally replaced the bishop of Beauvais because nobody was appointed at the moment of the coronation. Mgr de Gallien benefited from lengths of precious textiles used to decorate the cathedral of Reims during the coronation mass. Charles X was very generous to several cathedrals through donations of liturgical vestments reinforcing the alliance between the throne and the altar. The cathedral of Cambrai for instance was offered two embroidered stent stitch chasubles decorated with the arms of France on a red background (fig. 1). In Moulins, Charles X offered to the cathedral in 1824 an antependium, one red pontifical and one white pontifical with a broche ornamentation. The transformation of the roman chasuble in a neo gothic ones, has been made by Mgr de Dreux Brezé in the middle of the 19th century18. The King chapel in Notre-Dame-des-Doms in Avignon also benefited from the generosity of Charles X: a prestigious red and gold liturgical vestment was made in 1826 for the masses celebrated here. A similar pontifical was offered to the cathedral of Amiens, twelve copes are preserved today and other ones offered in 1839 can now be seen in Bourges and Gap19. Those ensembles were made up of twenty vestments. In Gap with regards to the poverty of the Fabrique, it was difficult for the Bishop to keep them in good condition. So he was very embarrassed by this royal gift.

However a veritable policy began during the Monarchy of July: the first years of the reign of Louis Philippe were very anticlerical. From the early 1840s, Louis-Philippe needed to rally the French

Church to him. So from 1839, the Parisian chasuble maker Biais Aîne received orders to make liturgical vestments for 6025 francs to be offered by the King to several cathedrals.

During the Monarchy of July, donations of liturgical vestments to cathedrals financed by the Civil List increased. They were delivered without any precise destination but for the Magasins du Roi (King’s storages) above all between 1837 and 1845 while the budget dedicated to purchase liturgical vestments by the Cult Administration didn’t increase before 1845. The King initiated his own policy before the governmental ones based on his will. The liturgical vestments for cathedrals financed by the Civil List may be considered as special royal gifts. Indeed as early as 1837, the King undertook a very active policy of donating liturgical vestments made in the Fabriques woven during previous regimes and in particular under the First Empire. The fabrics ordered by Napoléon 1st in Lyon in 1811 for Versailles, which were delivered in 1813 and 1814, were not used for their primary purpose. They were preserved in the Royal Garde-Meuble and re-used by Louis-Philippe to make liturgical vestments. The chasuble maker Biais benefited from all the orders of that kind during the Monarchy of July. In 1837, the King sent to Bordeaux a liturgical ensemble. The archbishop thanked the king in a letter to the intendant of the Civil List service dated on the 6th November 1837. This donation was a response to the request of the prelate to the administration in which he asked to favour his cathedral with regards to the financing of the liturgical vestments. The Fabrique of the cathedral benefited from many donations from the Cult Administration. Also in 1837, the King offered to the Cathedral of Melun (near Paris) a liturgical ensemble whose various models can be found in several cathedrals. To make them Biais used the fabrics woven by Grand Frères in Lyon in 1811 for the Emperor’s bedroom in Versailles. In 1821, the textiles were still preserved in the Garde-Meuble and Biais was able to draw upon a happy combination of the different elements, panels employed for the garments of chasubles, copes and others, borders transformed in orphreys, selvages used as braids. The cathedral of Arras was among the beneficiaries of the same liturgical ensemble. In his thank you letter, we notice that the aim of the King is achieved since Mgr de la Tour d’Auvergne is grateful and outlined the religious spirit, which presided over this royal donation.

The same liturgical ensemble was sent to Marseille in 1837 but is mentioned in the 1858 inventory of the cathedral as out of order. The textile woven for the Impress bedroom in Versailles by Bissardon Cousin and Bony was delivered on the 12th of November 1814 and in January 1815. In 1838, the textiles were still in the royal Garde-Meuble and Biais made several liturgical ensembles for the cathedral of Le Puy and Versailles amongst others.

In the 1840s, this dynamic policy of conquest the French clergy was more dynamic. The King needed the trust of the Catholics. The deputy of Saint-Flour summed up this feeling in a letter dated 12th may 1842 written to the Minister of Religious Affairs: “this donation will renew the wavering trust in the government support, in the mayor and the conseiller general…one of the most important and influent voters of the place.”

In 1837, Mgr Margueyre, bishop of Saint-Flour, informed Queen Marie Amélie, who was a very religious person, that his cathedral was very poor and lacked liturgical vestments. The Queen in accordance with the King decided to offer this cathedral one of the liturgical ensembles made with

20 Archives nationales de France, O 4 1827.
21 Archives nationales de France, F 19 3825, Liasse Bordeaux.
23 Archives diocésaines d’Arras, 510P3, « Ornaments du Roi ».
24 Archives nationales de France, F 19 3829, Liasse Marseille.
25 Archives nationales de France, A 19 768.
the Empress’s (Marie-Louise) bedroom garments. The canons thanked the King and expressed that
this donation was proof of the commitment of the King to the Catholic and Holy Religion, and of his
enthusiasm for all that contributes to its respect and increase the splendor of their masses. They said
how touched they were and that they send their great gratitude to the King for his generosity. They
expressed their submission to the royal power28. The Kings project was thus completed and
successful.

The cathedral of Evreux, which is closed to the castle of Eu, one of the main residences of the royal
family, also benefited from royal gifts. In 1844, a liturgical vestment made with gold threads was
given to the cathedral (fig. 2)29, certainly made by Biais Aîné30. Louis Philippe had just appointed
Mgr Olivier as bishop of Evreux, Mgr Olivier was close to the King. However, the Cult
Administration refused all his requests for financing liturgical vestments. The gifts made by Louis-
Philippe to the cathedral of Paris were more political in regards to the importance of Paris. Louis
Philippe offered a sumptuous liturgical ensemble, which cost more than 27300 francs. The fabrics
were ordered to Grand frères in Lyon in 1835. A second liturgical ensemble was delivered to the
same cathedral in 1838 and on the occasion of the birth of Comte de Paris, the King made many
donations to the cathedral of Paris. In 1837, Grand frères had to deliver a huge liturgical ensemble
for 27480 francs. In 1836, Grand frères benefited from another order of 27314 francs. In 1844,
another lyonnese producer delivered a brocart to make liturgical vestments for 32000 francs. All
these orders had no specific destination, but they were preserved to be offered to cathedrals at the
appropriate time. In 1845 Mathevon et Bouvard, from Lyon wove fabrics to make liturgical
vestments at a cost of 31998 francs Clément Reyre associated to Biais were ordered for 19983 francs
of red damask to make liturgical vestments31. Between 1837 and 1845, orders for liturgical
vestments were numerous. Two elements specified them: the majority of the liturgical vestments
were white or red, they were mainly made by Biais (except one) and Queen Marie Amélie was also
very active in this policy and took a personal part in two important donations in 1843.

This policy of peculiar donations continued during the Second Empire but in a different way. The
Aumônerie Générale played an important role. The evolution of the subsidies through the Civil List
and those through the budget of the Cult Administration was similar. The orders of the Aumônerie
générale began in 1845 and happened every year from 1858. Napoléon III however didn’t lead the
policy as the Cult Administration: he offered isolated vestments, not to cathedrals for bishops, but
for small churches. Chasubles and antependiums were mainly given by the Emperor during his
official travels. For instance, during his trip to Moulins in 1853, the Emperor, offered chasubles to
the Fabrique of this cathedral. His trip to Brittany in 1858 was the opportunity to offer many gifts as
was those of 1868 to the cathedral of Ajaccio. Because of the imperial trip, cathedrals needed to be
nice and richly decorated. The Cult Administration helped those cathedrals in that aim.

Liturgical vestments were far from being secondary objects in the spending of the Cult
Administration. The subsidies accorded by the government to the cathedral for liturgical vestments
were very sensitive to political evolution, to the appointment of bishops, to the more or less
important influence of such and such prince or princess. Liturgical vestments, not withstanding their
modest cost, were a genuine political instrument. It had its own procedures and accounting rules. To

28 Le Roi, l’Empereur..., op. cit., p. 23.
30 Archives nationales de France, O4 1827.
31 BOUZARD Marie, Analyse et catalogue raisonné de la production des frères Grand, fabricants de soierie à Lyon de
1808 à 1871 d’après les archives de la Maison Tassinari et Chatel, leurs successeurs, Lyon, Mémoire de maîtrise
1948, p. 141-142.
the budget of the state administration we have to add those of the List Civil which was far from being negligible and complemented the policy led by the Cult Administration by the personal choices of the King. Liturgical vestments were then, part of a global religious policy and a significant historical testimony. The altercation between the bishop of Grenoble and the prefect of the Isère area in 1880 is significant. The prefect refused to approve the request of the bishop because he estimated that the cathedral of Grenoble didn’t need another liturgical ensemble and certainly not a liturgical ensemble financed by the State. The anticlericalism and republican opinions stopped the public orders and so the peculiar link which had banded together the State, the Government and the French Church during the period of the Concordat. And still liturgical vestments remained through their absence a political sign.

Red pontifical vestment offered to the Fabrique of the cathedral of Amiens in 1839
And the mention « Given by the King, 1839 » Inside the vestments (cathedral of Amiens, photo by the author).
Details of the chasuble ordered by Louis-Philippe for the cathedral of Cambrai, tent stitch embroidery (cathedral of Cambrai).

Chasuble (back) belonging to the pontifical vestment made in 1839 by Biais in the fabric ordered by Napoléon 1st in 1811 for Versailles (Arras, cathedral, photo by the author).

photo by the author.
The chasuble (back) and detail the motif of the Christ blessing on the back, the model used by the embroiderer is coming from the Livre de Broderie of Arthur Martin, published in Paris in 1854. The chasuble is part of the pontifical vestment ordered by Mgr Boudinet, bishop of Amiens in Lyon (A. Favier) in 1867 financed by the Cult Administration. Its cost is very High, 15000 francs. (cathedral of Amiens, Photos by the author).